1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

apart from the villagers, whatever the origin of the actual ceremonies. 881 179 171

Marriage

Putnam is able to cite several cases of conflict over marriage, proposed or accomplished, and while such conflict may secondarily be between two lineages, it is primarily between the hunting band (whether it composes a single lineage or more than one) and the individual concerned. Putnam mentions neither arranged marriages nor the betrothal of infants, although there may be bands with whom marriage is preferred. The net-hunting Mbuti themselves simply say "the further away the better," referring to geographical distance. Kinship distance means little to them, though all cite general rules of bilateral lineage exogamy. 58 • [578] [621] [613] [613]

Putnam says that the hunting band is meant to be an exogamous unit, but that in 58 621

[P. 219-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.220-A]

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FIG. 48. Initiation masks, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Bark mask, worn by Bira and Ndaka initiators during the preliminary *nkumbi* dances. b. Leaf mouth-mask, worn in mouth of initiates when paraded through village.

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fact marriages within the band occur and are in fact often favored as they can be arranged without any ceremony. Ceremony occurs, he says, only when a marriage involves two different bands. Intra-band marriage is made possible, even within the bounds of lineage exogamy, by the practice of maintaining a number of "resident aliens." A net-hunting camp, always

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 220-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

A net-hunting camp, always larger than that of archers, may not only be comprised of two or more different lineages but will also nearly always include a number of visitors who may originally have come to visit female relatives and who, for one reason or another, settled permanently. Putnam also mentions the frequency of adoption and foster-parenthood. While he says an Mbuti will never knowingly marry another related to him on either side (he does not give the degree of relationship), he has no qualms when only social parenthood is involved.

A further advantage to marriage within the band is that it does not immediately upset the economic balance, so provides a loophole in the usual requirements of exchange marriage. Putnam does not say, however, exactly what the economic status is in the band of resident alien families or of the offspring resulting from intermarriage between them and other band members. From what can be observed and from cases cited, common residence seems to be the most significant factor.

[P 220-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 221-A]

621 exogamy have been observed. When it is
582 between two bands, then the Mbuti prefer
them to be as far apart as possible. The trouble
629 they envisage in a marriage with a member of a
58 nearby band is friction between themselves and
574 the village patron of the incoming bride. He
177 will constantly assert every claim he has, or
thinks he has, to her services, even to her
children when she revisits her own band. As
628 far as the two Mbuti bands are concerned, such
583 a marriage would be on an exchange basis, thus
maintaining the economic balance of each band.
[584] If the groom's band cannot find a suitable
girl to offer, his mother's band may be asked to
find one. There is always the alternative of
compensation or service, or both. For compen-
sation the help of the village patron is usually
sought, and the marriage is arranged by him.
[585] Such marriages are usually subject, in the
first place, to the normal Mbuti custom, which
involves no ceremony other than a mutually
agreeable exchange and a token offering of
gifts, such as a few arrows.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

584 for permission for her to live with him. He will already have proved his manhood by running the gauntlet and by sleeping with the girl, and the fact that he has succeeded in these endeavors is alone proof of his acceptance. He now only has to prove himself as a hunter, and the act of betrothal is sealed by his killing one of the larger antelope and presenting it to the girl's parents, perhaps also with some other gifts, such as a bow and arrows, bark cloth, or a machete.

584 591 The girl then goes to live with him, unless it is considered preferable, probably on grounds of band size, for the boy to join the girl's band. In either case, or if they both belong to the same band, the girl simply builds a hut without any ceremony, and they live in it. No particular note is made of the occasion, though there may be a few jokes made at their expense, and they will be allowed considerable • 58 freedom from camp routine for a few days. No further change in status [851] takes place until the girl becomes pregnant, at which time we might consider that the betrothal becomes effective as marriage. Separation before this takes place is perfectly possible and likely, and takes place without any comment, difficulty or restitution. Separation later, after childbirth, is more rare. If a couple have lived together for a long time (over a year) without having children, they will also be considered as married. This is unusual, however, for the object of marriage is in good part to have children, and if a couple fails, each will accuse the other of sterility and seek a new partner.

584 621 583 In seeking a partner who has not slept with him in the *elima* hut, a boy goes through the same procedure, except that the band will be called on to give its approval, and the prospective union will be discussed, elders having the most say. If he is refused, and if he and the girl are persistent, they may elope, joining another band. In this case that other band will be expected to provide a girl in exchange, for the system, such as it is, is one of sister exchange in the widest classificatory sense of the term. It frequently does take place between full brothers and sisters, but equally frequently there is no attempt to effect exchange so long as the married couple remains within the band. If the marriage is out of the band, then any return marriage, regardless of kinship, is considered to restore the balance. Again, in view of the constant fluctuation in band composition, it would be of no advantage for any more formal system to pertain.

2: Turnbull E-S (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

601 602 621 the crosscutting vertical loyalties of a lineal kinship system. The territorial band is the only reasonable answer.

602 621 561 121 We use the term "territorial" rather than bilateral, for the latter term still overemphasizes considerations of vertical descent. This is to negate the whole functional value of the generational system as used by the Mbuti, who use it to establish firm bonds between age mates, and to assign different and essential tasks to different age levels, thus avoiding the remotest chance of centralization of power or [114] authority. But we certainly do not use the term as does Steward (1955, 143), who uses it "to designate certain primitive societies which consist of many unrelated nuclear or biological families." Steward implies that relationship (he does not state what degree of relationship) not only is of no concern, but that it does not exist between member families of the band. It would be difficult to find a more composite Mbuti band than that of the Epulu, yet a glance at Table 4, giving the band membership at the close of 1957, shows that every single individual, representing some twenty-two different lineages, is "related" by clear consanguineal or affinal bonds to every other. No individual stands alone, though the relationship may sometimes be remote.

621 602 121 582 And most certainly while stating that age and territory are more effective principles of organization than kinship, we do not deny that kinship is recognized. We are merely stating that social interaction among the Mbuti is based on generation and territory. A system, to deserve the term, must be effective in action, and we have seen how seldom kinship relationships are called into account among the Mbuti, the major occasion being a proposal of marriage. There the concern with kinship is not so much in terms of the politico-economic implications of the marriage, as a clear-cut consideration of lineal distance. The stated prohibition is against marrying on the side of either the mother or father, but so long as the memory of the elders can trace no connection, there is no further concern.

• 58 621 602 [561] Sister-exchange marriage preserves the unity of the *apad'i*, and indeed enhances it when, as can happen in the composite band, the two couples reside side by side. The lack of marriage and divorce ritual does not indicate any lack of concern for one's age level, for one always marries within that level and so is never lost to it, but it is another symptom of the general lack of concern with kinship, this time with affinity rather than lineality. A marriage is effected by living together; divorce is effected by one or other spouse simply going to live

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1960) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

elsewhere. If this is taken to indicate a lack of concern not only for kinship but also for social stability, it can also be regarded, precisely because of the freedom it allows, as a further mechanism by which the constant flux so characteristic of the band is maintained. That this flux itself has a function will be seen in the final chapter, when we deal again with the Mbuti/Villager relationship.

The different functions of each age level have been described (pp. 110, 111, 112 *seq.*), and the organizational value of making the horizontal distinction in the composite band is self-evident. Each age level is cooperative in activity, certain activities (such as the hunt) calling for cooperation between two or three age levels still preserving the distinction by allocating different roles to each. Interpersonal relations are determined primarily by age level, and authority has also been seen to be diffused through the different levels.

The transition from childhood to youth is marked for boys and girls alike by participation in the *elima*. Adulthood is conveyed by the act of marriage, which carries with it the right to own a net. The rare bachelor who proves himself as a great hunter and still does not marry may, by combined virtue of his age and his skill, own a net, but the accepted qualification is that of marriage, emphasizing another major Mbuti concern, that of procreation.

Transition from adulthood to elderhood is less clear-cut and more filled with tension, for though an elder enjoys many privileges and has, set aside for him as such, certain vital roles in the social organization, he misses the excitement of the hunt, the pride and satisfaction of rearing a family, and he certainly recognizes that this is the final transition.

The nonlineal (or cognatic) band, then, divided horizontally into age levels rather than vertically into lineages, effects an absolute unity throughout each level, whereas it would otherwise be divided into as many sections as there were lineages. Its persistence and continuity are seen in terms of territory. There may well be a tendency for certain lineages to remain within the same territory for successive generations, but such association is incidental rather than structurally determined. The demography and internal organization, while allowing for marriage within the band, make it essential for much marriage exchange to take place between different and preferably not adjacent bands. Since the residence of the newlywed couple is determined by immediate economic considerations, such as the relative size and composition of the two bands, territory is obviously not an individual